1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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used in this way. The owner twice dreamed of a weasel, which told him to use its skin. Thereupon he first wore a weasel-skin in dances, and later carried it to war. Subsequently he lent it to his son and to other men who went to war, and they always returned successfully.

A man to whom a fisher had appeared in a dream or vision used a fish-skin medicine-bag, and on going to war carried this with him.

A renowned warrior, dead for some time, received his personal medicine from the bears, and was forbidden to scalp, count coup on the enemy, or take away a gun. He could only kill. He once killed two Sioux with one shot, at a place which received its name from the event.

A simple riding-whip (specimen Museum No. 50–1821) has on its wooden handle four red marks, each of which is said to represent an enemy struck in the face with a whip in battle.

Representations, used in the modern "war-dance," of the weapons of Black-Wolf, a well-known Gros Ventre warrior, part of whose experiences in war are told below, consist of a shield and spear. The shield, which is made of painted white cloth, represents the shield carried by him on an occasion when he rushed to battle with no other weapon. The shield is decorated with a blue crescent along the lower edge, representing the sun, and bordered by a wavy red line denoting lightning. The wooden spear and spear-point represent a spear with which the owner stabbed a Piegan in battle. The spear-point is painted blue and red; the blue representing iron, the red blood. Red marks on the handle of the spear represent coups.

A pair of beaded and painted moccasins executed by a woman, but designed by an old man, symbolize his exploits in war. An outside rim of beading represents the enemy's camp-circle. In the middle of the camp-circle is beaded the figure of a tent belonging to a chief. To this tent was tied a horse, which the wearer of the moccasins cut loose. This feat is represented by an outline painting of a horse and halter. Three U-shaped figures, also painted, are horse-tracks, and represent the capture of horses. On the other moccasin there are again three such figures in a row, which here were said to indicate a charge on horseback on the camp; while two other such figures, facing each other, indicate a face-to-face fight.

Curtains hanging behind the bed in front of the tent-wall were sometimes painted to illustrate the owner's achievements in war.

WAR-EXPERIENCES OF INDIVIDUALS.

The following narratives give an entirely personal account of the war-experiences of three individuals, two of them men of about sixty years of

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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age, and the third a woman probably a little older. They are not in any sense historical, but were obtained for the picture they give of the war-life of the Plains Indians. Both the men were renowned warriors. Bull-Robe, the older, has since died. In the case of neither was a complete account of all their achievements in war obtained; but both narratives probably refer to every war party or engagement in which they took part down to the point at which the narratives are broken off. All three narratives bear the stamp of naïve truthfulness; which, in view of the importance played in the life of the Plains tribes by the telling of war-exploits and the recounting of coups, is not surprising. It must be remembered that the narrators were not asked to describe the engagements and expeditions in which they were involved, but to narrate their personal share in them. This will account for the frequency with which an insignificant personal experience is told in detail and the general result of a war-party slurred over or ignored. The story told by the woman Watches-All has reference to the great disastrous expedition against the Piegans in 1807.

Black-Wolf's Narrative.

When I was a boy I heard about great deeds in war, and resolved to follow in the tracks of such men. When I was a young man I started out alone. I travelled, and reached the camp of another band of Gros Ventre on the Missouri. I ate there and went on to the Bear Paw Mountains. There I slept at the foot of Eagle Butte. I started again before sunrise and crossed the mountains, following Beaver Creek to the end of the mountains. I saw buffalo, and shot at them. Some one else was hunting these buffalo, and heard the shot. After shooting, I had left my horse tied at the foot of the butte, which I climbed in order to look over the country. Then I saw some one below me coming up the butte. A moment later he saw me. I raised my gun, but he dodged and ran off. Thinking he was one of a party, I ran off also, reached my horse, and rode into the timber. When I could hear and see no one, I rode to where there was a trading-post on Milk River. At night all the horses there ran off into the timber. In the morning an Assiniboine was about to go to get them, when I told him that I would go after them, and started with my gun and a rope. Then I saw what looked like a flock of blackbirds flying over a hill. Soon I saw they were people. At first I had seen only their heads. They were coming over the hill towards me, but on one side, in order to ambush me. Suddenly they were riding at me. At first I was as if dazzled, and it looked like a fog to me. Then I recovered my senses. I was some distance from the post. I did not run, but waited for them. Two of them with long whips were in the lead. I

1; Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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796 successful and happy in this world, in acquiring wealth and in living a long life. Then the old man pointed the pipe east, south, west, north, and up, lit it, and smoked it. Then wiping it, and dropping the ashes out of it, he held the pipe up toward the sky, and prayed for his "grand-daughter," then laid it on the ground. The woman was naked, except for her robe. She then begged the old man to give her the medicine called tawaanasöö (the Arapaho hāeawaanaxu). It is said that sometimes the old man gave her none, but undoubtedly it was customary for him to give it to her. Only a small piece was used.

After this the women returned to the dancing-lodge, where their husbands were waiting for them. They did not go together, but singly. A boy or young man had been selected to stand outside the door, and watch for the women returning. As a woman came near enough to be recognized, he called into the lodge that she was coming, whereupon the dancers came out. Her husband and all the others kissed her. Her husband [576] kissed the "grandfather" also. One by one the other women came back, and were received in the same way. If the woman had received medicine, she gave half to her husband. He chewed it up, and then rubbed himself over his body with it.

For four nights this appears to have been done. On all but the last night, it is said, that, on the return of the women, they and their husbands left the lodge and returned to their tents to sleep, to be painted again next morning. The last night, after the women and their "grandfathers" had returned, the old men picked out from the row of bows their "grandsons'," and, standing north and south of the fire, danced, holding the bows; their "grandsons" meanwhile dancing with them, but the women sitting in their places.

These observances connected with the giving of medicine by the "grandfathers" to the dancers' wives are found, without essential modification, in the three following dances, as well as in this. It will be seen that they are considerably more developed than the corresponding practices among the Arapaho.[1]

[1] In the Arapaho crazy and dog dances the procedure is not carried quite so far. Dorsey has described almost the same practice as occurring in the Arapaho sun-dance. What takes place on this occasion in the Arapaho crazy and dog dances has been summarized in Vol. XVIII, pp. 193, 200, of the Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History. The following somewhat more precise account is appended for comparison with the Gros Ventre. The "grandfather" and the dancer's wife (who is naked, except, presumably, for a robe) go off. As or before they go it is said aloud, "He gives his wife away." She is given, theoretically, not to her husband's ceremonial "grandfather," but to "the four old men" that play a part in esoteric Arapaho ritual. The woman prays, asking the old man for life. He spits medicine on the ground four times, once for each of the four old men. She lies down before him, stretching her legs and arms, facing him. He asks "the grandfather above" — apparently "our father" — to look, and puts away his desire. Restraining himself, he covers her with a robe, draws her up, and leads her back, pushing her gently before him. When she rejoins her husband, the latter says, "Hahô'u" ("thanks") four times. That this custom of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre is not confined to them, is evident from a well-known passage in Lewis and Clark. [114 171]

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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hand, according as they belonged to one division or the other. Vessels of water were ready to pour on the racers in order to cool them. The four "brothers," the dancers previously separate from the rest at the eastern end of the lodge, did not run with the crowd, but started out slowly together, their faces covered with their robes. They trotted at a slow pace over the same course as the other dancers. As they returned, long after the crowd, the boys, young men, and young women of the camp, had gathered on both sides, and pelted them with buffalo-chips until they reached the dancing-lodge. There is, in this slow following of the pledger and his three companions, a reminiscence of the white-fool, the dancer of highest degree in the Arapaho crazy-lodge, who on all occasions contrasts by his slow movements with the other dancers.[1] After the return of all the dancers, they presented horses loaded with property to their "grandfathers," and these made similar presents to them. These gifts seem to have been payments to the old men for their instruction and painting, and to have been made at the conclusion of the part of the ceremony which was under their control. From this time on, the dancers' wives returned to their tents, and took no further part in the ceremony.

After this followed two observances. It is not certain which of the two came first. A crowd of people were waiting for the dancers in the open. The dancers, wearing their best moccasins put on loosely without being tied, left the lodge; and the waiting people, mostly women and children, ran after them, pulling off their moccasins, and, when they could not succeed in doing so otherwise, seizing their feet, and tripping them as they went. The dancers did not try to escape, or save their moccasins, but allowed them to be taken. Or, again, an old man who was poor was selected, and, having been given a pipe to smoke in order that he might accept, he went to the east of the camp-circle. A buffalo robe was brought, incensed four times with sweet-grass placed on burning charcoal or buffalo-chips, and then placed over the old man, with the hair side out, as, bent over, he knelt on the ground. The dancers gathered about him, and

[1] According to an Arapaho account obtained, somewhat different from those previously utilized, there are two white-fools, not one. It is not clear which information is more correct. The white-fools always follow the dancers. If one of the ordinary dancers should be behind them, he would become unable to move. This is the result of any violation of a rule of the ceremony by a participant. In such cases the white-fools have the power to cure them by taking off their owl-feather head-bands, and rubbing them over the body with them. The white-fools are addressed as heiçâbihin ("sisters-in-law," strictly, "brother or sister-in-law" of opposite sex from the speaker). The dancers, to look at a person, put their head to the ground, and pretend to look with their rump. They throw dung into tents, calling it "food." If people look at them through awl-holes in a tent, they at once shoot the tent in that place. Going out on the prairie, they say, "Let us not shoot into the air," and shoot up. When the arrows fall in plain sight, they cannot find them: if they fall into brush or tall grass, they find them at once. They imitate, often with obscene renderings, anything that they hear, such as a person's speech, or a dog's bark. They paralyze dogs by pointing at them an arrow to which tetrâtâct is attached. They give the dogs they kill to their "grandfathers" to eat. As soon as they take off their head-bands, they become rational. Mooney's account of the Cheyenne and Arapaho crazy-dance, which seems to refer chiefly to the former, mentions two white-fools; compare Ghost-Dance Religion, op. cit., 1033.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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aho sun-dance paint. Usually the Arapaho paint only two diamonds on each limb; but four have been seen on the northern Arapaho pledger, as in this picture. Another drawing repeats this painting, and adds a headband, anklets, and wristlets apparently corresponding to the sage ornaments of the Arapaho. In a third drawing a dancer is painted with lightning symbols down his legs and arms. 796 532

The Gros Ventre and Arapaho sun-dances differ about as much as their respective age-company ceremonies. The principal discrepancies seem to be the following. 796 171

The Gros Ventre accumulation of buffalo-tongues by the pledger after the making of the vow and before the ceremony. This feature is found among the Blackfoot, but not among the Arapaho.

The prairie-chicken lodge with its four-nights' singing apparently corresponds somewhat to the Arapaho rabbit-tent; but its daily removal, accompanied by the camp-circle, is not found among the Arapaho. The prairie-chicken singing recalls a feature in the Arapaho hinanaha^{n}wu, the fifth of the age-ceremonies.

According to the account obtained, the public ceremonies relating to the erection of the lodge do not take place until after the four-nights' singing in the prairie-chicken tent. Among the Arapaho, they occur while the rabbit-tent is in use, and are in large part connected with the rites within it. It is also not clear how long a time these public ceremonies — the scouting for the trees, the bringing-in of the centre pole, the killing of the buffalo, and the painting of the lodge-poles and erection of the lodge — occupy. They are described as if they occurred in the space of a day. This would not be impossible; but it is likely that this impression is due to indefiniteness of narration. It is, however, distinctly stated that the buffalo is shot while the people are bringing in the centre pole. Among the Arapaho, the centre pole is brought in two days after the buffalo has been shot. The skin of this buffalo is kept entire and taken into the dancing-lodge; by the Gros Ventre it is cut into thongs for fastening the lodge-beams to the upright forks. [114]

The "altars" of the two ceremonies cannot be definitely compared, owing to the indefiniteness of information from the Gros Ventre. The screen corresponds to the seven small trees of the Arapaho; the skull and the wheel on the stick are common to the two ceremonies; the red and the black upright stick have no Arapaho equivalents. The Arapaho trench, red and black logs, seven red and seven black sticks, seven wickets, and two sods with bushes, have not been mentioned among the Gros Ventre.

The miraculous raising of the centre pole does not seem to exist among the Arapaho.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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INTRODUCTION

The Algonquian-speaking Gros Ventres live on the Fort Belknap Reservation in North Central Montana. The Reservation is a small part of the land claimed by this tribe in 1887, when the boundaries were finally fixed. At present, the Gros Ventres number between a thousand and eleven hundred, and they share their territory with almost as many Assiniboine. The latter tribe was included in the settlement of the Reservation although it did not participate with the Gros Ventres and Blackfoot tribes in the Treaty of 1855. In spite of some intermarriage, the two groups have never really blended and the Gros Ventres tend to center at the village of Hays at the southern part of the Reservation while the Assinboine are clustered around Lodge Pole, a settlement some ten miles east of Hays. The Indian Agency is approximately forty miles north of Hays at the northern boundary of the Reservation and close to the town of Harlem on the Great Northern Railroad. Of importance to the Gros Ventres, who are predominantly Roman Catholic, is St. Paul's Mission and School which lie at the foot of the Little Rockies only a mile south of Hays. David Rodnick has given an excellent description of the geographical setting of the Reservation for his study of modern conditions and of acculturation among the Fort Belknap Assiniboine.

Of the several tribes in the Northern Plains region, the Gros Ventres are perhaps the least known. Although they maintained intact their tribal identity, and were recognized as fierce warriors, they were often mistakenly identified with the Blackfoot tribes, with whom they were frequently allied. Moreover, little was known of the Gros Ventre language except that it was an exceedingly difficult one; practically every independent observer during the nineteenth century remarks on this fact. Since, however, many Gros Ventre men knew Blackfoot, the linguistic difference was often overlooked and the Gros Ventres tended to be counted as one of the Blackfoot tribes. As part of the so-called "Blackfoot Nation," leaders of the Gros Ventres signed the Treaty of 1855.

[P. viii contains no text]

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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●114 Although the Gros Ventres are mentioned with sufficient frequency in the late eighteenth and in the nineteenth century sources to enable us to trace some of their movements and history, information on their culture is disappointingly meager. There is nothing in the sources on the Gros Ventres, for instance, that is in any way comparable with the richness of Thompson's account of the Piegan. The only real knowledge we have had of Gros Ventre culture is from the pioneer ethnological investigations of Professor Kroeber. In his Ethnology of the Gros Ventre, published in 1908, Dr. Kroeber deals with material culture and outlines the political, social and religious organization. He gives excellent illustrations of such objects pertaining to industries, to recreative, and to ceremonial life, as were still in the hands of the Gros Ventres at the turn of the century. He devotes considerable time to a detailed comparative treatment of decorative art, and in a separate paper deals with Gros Ventre Myths and Tales. Dr. Kroeber's major field work in 1900–03 was devoted to the Arapaho and in his monograph on this people he refers occasionally to his Gros Ventre data, especially, for instance, in the section on kinship terminology.

128 While the present ethnographical account deals primarily with Gros Ventre culture of the nineteenth century, as does Dr. Kroeber's Ethnology, the emphases are somewhat different. In Part I, for instance, we have found it possible to extend what Dr. Kroeber dealt with in several pages on social customs into a number of chapters dealing with aspects of the life cycle and kinship behavior. We have attempted to inject a chronological aspect through our detailed treatment of Gros Ventre history, but our sections on political organization and on war lack the lengthy firsthand statements by individuals which makes Dr. Kroeber's account so valuable. In Part II, we have been able to add vastly more detail on religious life than that presented by Dr. Kroeber. In our material, the Flat and Feathered Pipe rites are emphasized as well as personal supernatural powers. Furthermore we have presented the versions as told by our informants of the tales and myths pertinent to a given area of religious life. Some of these show variations on those published by Dr. Kroeber, and some are new.

124 Dr. Cooper worked with the Gros Ventres in the summers of

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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were said to have reached the Stag (Red Deer) River when both they and the Snake were decimated by a smallpox epidemic,[33] which would seem to have been that of 1780. For the next three years there were no wars, as the remnants of both tribes were occupied in merely sustaining life—parties of young Snake men were left unmolested by the Piegan. It was then decided that in future warfare, instead of looking only for the honor of taking scalps, that the Piegan should capture women and young men and adopt them in order to augment their depleted numbers. Apparently the Piegan gradually advanced to the Bow River as the Snake withdrew. Thompson, then among the Piegan at the Bow River, states: "The country where the Snake now [i.e. 1786] are is far away and little known to the Peeagan." Scouts were out five days but saw no Snake. "Affairs were in this state when we arrived."[34] A few days later a war chief with fifty warriors was sent out to examine the country. This party returned after about twenty days with five horses and fifteen mules which they had captured from the Snake, and old Saukamapee's son gave an account of the expedition. If this chronology is correct, Cocking's companions in 1772 had every reason to fear the Snake and to suspect their presence, as the power of the latter would not have been broken in the northern plains until 1780.

Cocking, as others before him, failed in his mission to persuade the "equestrian Indians" to come to Hudson's Bay.[35] During the last two decades of the 18th century, the Hudson's Bay Company, as well as the rival Northwest Company, established trading

[33] Thompson, p. 336. We know nothing of the wider effects of the smallpox epidemic which affected the Cree in 1736. Cf. Mandelbaum, p. 182.

[34] Thompson, p. 340. The author, pp. 328–47, in giving the account of old Saukamapee, often quotes the latter directly. But inasmuch as he usually omits important diacritical marks, and intersperses comments of his own, care must be exercised in reading these pages which recount events extending in time from about 1730 up to include a few weeks after Thompson's arrival among the Piegan in 1786. Furthermore, he wrote his whole Narrative about 1839, at the age of 70, following his notebooks it is true, but also making generalizations regarding the Piegan which do not necessarily refer to the year 1786–87 he spent among them, but may indicate a later date. See p. 348 where he describes boundaries of the Piegan, Blood and Blackfoot territory.

[35] Cocking p. 111. Cf. Graham's Observations in Isham, p. 312.

[114]

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robes,—that the Gros Ventres were industrious and were as good skin-dressers as the Mandan and better than the Blackfoot. He further mentions that they were formerly numerous and dreaded but that since the smallpox, and the depredations by the tribes with whom they have been at variance, they had diminished. Although they formerly had bloody wars with the Blackfoot tribes, in 1808 they were at peace with them. 175 648

Henry's estimate, however, that at this time the Gros Ventres numbered but 80 tents or 240 men, seems very low.[38] He was probably basing his figures on those who came that far north to trade, because in 1805 Laroque, while with the Crow on an island in the Missouri River near the confluence of the Big Horn, met a delegation of the Gros Ventres who were camped on the Big Horn River behind the mountain. He states that they occupied 275–300 "huts" and that it was with friendly sentiments that they came to this region. They brought words of peace and said that they came to procure some horses from the Crow. Laroque referred to them as "Big bellies of the fort de prairie" and mentioned that they and the Crow communicated with each other by means of the sign language, not being able to understand each other in speech.[39] This makes it quite certain that these Indians were not the Hidatsa. 161 175 648

It would seem, then, from the above as well as from the figures obtained in the same year, 1805, by Lewis and Clark, viz. 260 tents or 660 men,[40] that the estimates of both Thompson and Henry, observing as they were from the Canadian area from which the Gros Ventres had been driven, refer to only part of the main group of Gros Ventres. Henry himself remarks in 1811 that the Gros Ventres are increasing very fast and that he had always noticed a greater percentage of young men among them than among the neighboring tribes. He admits further: "I have not been able to obtain their exact number but am fully confident they exceed 100 tents."[41] Richardson, moreover, in his journal of 1818–19, identifies the Gros Ventres and claims that they have about 450 to 500 tents.[42] [114]

[38] Henry, v. 2, pp. 530–31.
[39] Laroque, p. 20.
[40] Cf. Wissler, 1936, p. 4.
[41] Henry, v. 2, p. 733.
[42] Richardson, quoted in Franklin, pp. 99–100.

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seemingly after the pillaging of this fort about 1826 that part of the Gros Ventres fled to the headwaters of the Missouri, wintered there, and then proceeded south to join their Arapaho kinsmen. According to Hayden, the Gros Ventres spent about five years hunting with the Arapaho and joined them in trading with the Mexicans.[46] During this sojourn, the Gros Ventres suffered a devastating attack of smallpox which was said to have reduced their number by half.

From sources independent of Hayden we know that a large group of Gros Ventres was actually in the Cimarron area during the late 1820's. Gregg, with a party of independent traders, was traveling in the Cimarron Valley when on June 21, 1831, they met a very large group of Indians,—he estimates about a thousand including men, women and children,—who followed them for a day or two in order to pilfer what they could and to receive presents if possible. They were finally bought off with about sixty dollars worth of trade goods contributed by various members of the party. It was thought at first that these Indians were Comanche and Arapaho. "But," states Gregg, "they were principally if not altogether Blackfoot and Gros Ventres." A few days later Gregg received intelligence that Captain Sublette and his party, on their way from St. Louis to Santa Fe, had met "an immense horde of Blackfeet and Gros Ventres," and that although the Indians had assumed a menacing attitude, the party had passed without serious molestation. That same evening, however, Gregg camped near a place called the "Battle Ground," famous for a skirmish which a caravan of traders in the company of Mexican troops had in 1829 with the Gros Ventres. Gregg was told that on that occasion, the traders and troops, under Col. Vizcarra, were camped on the Cimarron when a party of 120 Gros Ventres approached on foot. The traders did not welcome the Indians, but seeing that they were disposed to remain until morning, Col. Vizcarra promised to disarm them. Nevertheless he failed to do so, and all of a sudden the Indians sprang to their feet, gave a yell and fired on the party. A Taos Indian, by giving his own life, saved that of the Colonel. The Mexican troops pursued the Gros

[46] Hayden, 341. The gist of what Hayden gives for this period is correct, though his dates are inaccurate.

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CHAPTER II

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The greater bulk of our material on the Gros Ventres covers the fifty year span from about 1835 to 1885. During that period, the tribal territory centered about the Milk River. The present Reservation, the boundaries of which were finally fixed in 1888, represents only a small part of the land claimed and held by the Gros Ventres as their own.

Band Names and Affiliation

The political organization of the Gros Ventres was simple. The division into fairly autonomous bands was basic, and apparently the number of bands was twelve. Our informants, both those who were adult and those who were children, at the time when the whole tribe still encamped as a unit, agreed on that point. The list of band names given by our two oldest informants, Coming Daylight (b. 1854) and Singer (b. ca. 1856), is as follows: Coffees, Same as Assiniboine, Plenty Bad, Greys, Fast Travelers, Water Horses Once a Day, Upper Quarters, Frozens, Buffalo Overloaded, Tendons, Bloods, Night Hawks. These two old women maintained that, in their own experience, the bands camped in this order, and in a circle, when the whole tribe was together.

Quite independently of the above list, another was obtained from The Boy (b. 1870). As a child he witnessed the formation of the camp circle, and he knows many details of previous decades from his father, Lame Bull (b. ca. 1825, d. 1890) and from other old men. The Boy's list agrees with that given by the two women, except in regard to one band. He includes a group called Poor Greys and omits Night Hawks. All of our informants insisted that the Greys and Night Hawks were distinct bands, but there was a difference of opinion as to whether or not the Greys and Poor Greys were in reality the same band.

Seven of the band names can be identified with Kroeber's num-

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621 bered list: Same as Assiniboine (No. 5); Fast Travelers (No. 6); Water Horses Once a Day (No. 2); Upper Quarters (No. 4); Frozens (No. 1); Tendons (No. 3); Bloods (No. 7). Furthermore in Kroeber's supplementary list we find the Coffees and Night Hawks mentioned; we are probably correct in assuming that Kroeber's Dusty Ones in that same supplementary list correspond to our Greys. Kroeber does not refer, however, to either Plenty Bad nor Buffalo Overloaded; whereas our informants could not identify Kroeber's Fighting Alone (No. 8).[1]

621 The fact that there is as much agreement, namely, in ten band
114 names, between Kroeber's information and our own, is quite remarkable since the band names were nicknames, the explanations for which were quite trivial. Not only were variations used to designate the same band by different informants, but also apparently the band names were frequently changed altogether.

For example, Kroeber's Smooth-worn-tent-people were designated variously by our informants as Slick Runners, Slippery Travois Poles and Fast Travelers—all of these taken from the little explanatory anecdote that this band was supposed to travel so far and so fast that the ends of the travois poles which dragged on the ground quickly became smooth and worn.

Similarly the Dusty-ones of Kroeber were termed by our informants Greys (proper) and Those Who Do Not Wash Their Faces, playing around the theme that the members of this band did not paint up as did other Gros Ventres and that they thus looked unkempt and dirty.

Those-who-do-not-give-away, or Buffalo humps, mentioned by Kroeber were consistently identified by our informants as Upper Quarters, the explanation lying in the reputation for stinginess acquired one time when members of the band were asked for meat, and gave the upper quarters or hump of the buffalo instead of the more desirable parts.

The Opposite-Assiniboine or Same-as-Assiniboine were also called Poor Ones because they, like the Assiniboine tribe in general, possessed few horses.

Our informants said that Water Horses Once A Day were so

[1] Kroeber, 1908, p. 148.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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called because the band members were too lazy to water their horses more often. 621 114●

The story regarding the Frozens is that one winter people were hungry and the members of this band killed buffalo; when they were asked for meat, they replied: "The meat is frozen and we can't cut it." The alternative name for this band, given by Kroeber and by one of our informants, as Plumes or Those-who-wear-feathers-on-the-head, is probably an older name for the band, but one for which neither Kroeber nor we received an explanation.

The Coffees and Bloods were so known on account of their going to extremes in the consumption of these two foods respectively.

Plenty Bad refers to the fact that this band was numerous but were all "bad" people, that is, that there were few with good reputations as warriors.

Buffalo Overloaded were supposed to have been very foolish people. Their name derives from the story that on one occasion, when hunting, they saw a small herd of buffalo, one of which sat down. A band member said: "That buffalo is overloaded (i.e., he has eaten too much and has died)." The others said: "Let's wait till all the buffalo get overloaded, then we will go and get our meat." One by one the buffalo sat down and when the hunters thought they were all dead, they walked toward them, but the buffalo, catching the scent, ran away.

The Tendons were so named because they were said to have expressed a preference for the neck tendons of the buffalo as food.

The Night Hawks received their name from the habit of the band members of breaking wind audibly, the sound suggesting the noise the night hawk makes as it flies.

Only one of our informants mentioned Berry Men as the name of a band, whose place in the camp circle was said to have been next to Water Horses. Although this name is likewise listed by Kroeber, none of our informants could say to which band the term referred. Several other names of bands which various informants mentioned as having been heard by them to have existed in the past were Black Horns, Yellow Tail Feathers, Saw-whet Owls, Red Eagles, Torn Leggings, and Traders. One informant,

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

621 The Boy, ventured the following tentative indentification, saying
114 that these may have been earlier names respectively for Same As Assiniboine, Upper Quarters, Water Horses, Night Hawks, Coffees, Frozens. A few informants had heard of Breech Cloths and Weasel Skin Headdresses as band names but didn't know which modern bands they might have been, always assuming that the number of bands had been twelve.

361 As to the exact order of the bands in the camp circle, there was
621 no real agreement. The order given by Singer and Coming Day-
114 light differs from that given by Kroeber. Furthermore, while the two old women were emphatic that the places within the camp circle were permanent—"otherwise we could not remember all this!"—some of the men informants were under the impression that the band from which a new Flat Pipe Keeper was chosen moved to the center position opposite the opening of the camp
361 circle, and that the others shifted accordingly.

621 In any case, the circle, with opening toward the rising sun, was the formation employed when the whole tribe was together. When bands were separated from the main group they might or might not camp in this way, depending somewhat on the length of time they expected to remain in one spot, and on the nature of the terrain. Sometimes, for instance, the lodges of the various families of the band were strung out along a watercourse.

According to The Boy, there was a tendency for bands which camped in proximity within the big camp circle to go off together when the tribe split up. The Upper Quarters and Frozens were often together and, along with them, the Same As Assiniboine or occasionally the Greys (proper) and Buffalo Overloaded, usually staying more or less in the vicinity of the Milk River, the center of the territory claimed by the Gros Ventres. Whereas the Tendons, followed by the Poor Greys and Bad Plenty, moved for winter quarters to the country bounded by the Big Sandy, the Marias River (at Ft. Benton), and the Bear Paws; while the Fast Travelers as a rule sought out the country south of the Missouri toward the Yellowstone River and Crow country, accompanied by perhaps the Coffees. Water Horses and Bloods were friendly
554 with each other and joined now one group and now another.
621 A band which was thus followed by two or three others had

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

PREFACE

This second part of the record of the "old way of life" of the Gros Ventres of Montana was written by Rt. Rev. John M. Cooper, late Professor and Head of the Department of Anthropology of The Catholic University of America. The manuscript had been all but completed by him at the time of his death in 1949. Dr. Cooper had intended to incorporate changes that might be suggested in view of my 1948 field check-up of the contents of the volume and then to critically edit the manuscript,—as only he could have done. I have thought it best to publish the manuscript essentially as Dr. Cooper had written it and to give additional information, obtained in 1948 and subsequently, in footnotes identified as my own. I have also added the cross-references to The Gros Ventres of Montana: Part I, Social Life, which appeared in 1953 and which was intended as a background for the present volume.

The general plan of the joint undertaking by Dr. Cooper and myself, and the procedure followed by us, have been outlined in the Preface and the Introduction to Part I, Social Life. Data on the principal informants have been given in the Appendix to that volume. These will not be repeated. We must note, however, with profound regret that Thomas Main died in November, 1952, and that The Boy died in January, 1956.

The Boy, a man of distinct philosophical turn of mind, as mentioned several times by Dr. Cooper in the present volume, is responsible for the greater part of the material on ritual and ceremonial aspects of Gros Ventre life. The Boy, to a greater degree than his contemporaries, had been interested in ritual and its meaning since his early youth. From his father, Lame Bull, a keeper of the sacred Flat Pipe and an outstanding man, The Boy had acquired a rich store of knowledge which his enquiring mind enlarged in adult life. He was constantly discussing the past of his people with many other men, older than himself, who had participated more fully than was possible for him to do in the Gros Ventre way of life before the disappearance of the buffalo in 1887.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

● 114 The Boy and the other Gros Ventres who cooperated with Dr. Cooper were most anxious to have preserved for the future the religious phases of their culture. The term "religious" is of course to be taken in a very broad sense. In comparing the present account with that published by Dr. Kroeber in 1907 differing emphases emerge. In the early years of the century some of the magico-religious beliefs and practices were still operative among the Gros Ventres and were not willingly explained by their practitioners. On the one hand, therefore, our account is much fuller and more explicit than is Dr. Kroeber's concerning the sacred Pipes, the meaning of the various rituals and of the personal supernatural powers,—all illustrated by our informants through reference to identifiable individuals no longer living. On the other hand Dr. Kroeber's treatment of the ceremonial dances is more complete. Inasmuch, however, as details given by our informants supplement his description, it was decided to publish ours in full despite some overlapping. Similarly it was thought worthwhile to present such myths and tales as were volunteered by our informants since some of these show variations upon those in the much more complete collection by Dr. Kroeber, and a couple of myths obtained by us do not appear in his series. One of these latter confirms his earlier prediction that certain of the more widespread motifs, which did not occur in the tales obtained by him, should be found among the Gros Ventres.

114 123 Because neither Doctor Cooper nor I had witnessed any of the latter day ceremonies in connection with the sacred Pipes, such as the opening of the Flat Pipe bundle in 1946, The Boy initiated the holding of a ceremony when I was on the Fort Belknap Reservation in 1948. In it he enacted the role of keeper of the Flat Pipe and went through some of the ritual, though the Pipe was not unwrapped at that time. The photos in Plates 1 and 2A were taken on this occasion. For Plate 1 A-B we are indebted to Mr. Duke Wellington, Agent of the Fort Belknap Reservation, who received his Gros Ventre name just after the Flat Pipe ceremony was completed. I took those on Plates 1C and 2A.

000 We are grateful to Dr. Louis W. Hagener, Professor of Biology, Northern Montana College, for information regarding the 1951

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

776 beings as Little Spirit and ghosts, but not such major ones as the Supreme Being and Bha'a.

The following story, as told by The Boy, gives nearly all that 224 is known about Little Spirit, etcibətä:t (ětc,sä, it is little, bettětô, 776 spirit [Sifton]).

"Long ago, how far back I do not know, Little Spirit made himself the guardian spirit helper of a certain man, saying: 'Whenever there is going to be a famine, call me.' 'What are you?' the man asked, 'Where do you come from?' 'I am Little Spirit, I am from the western wind.' The man who had Little Spirit never called him except when game was scarce and there was danger of famine among the people. Then he would call Little Spirit who would tell them where game was. When this man was dying, he said to the people: 'Whenever you go out hunting, pray to Little Spirit to show you where game is and when you have killed game and gutted it, take a piece of the liver and some of the fat, put in on the west side of the game killed, and say: "Here, Little Spirit, is liver and fat for you."' It was just that one man of long ago, no other, who had Little Spirit as a personal helper. When Little Spirit came, he came as a little whirlwind."[*]

Little Spirit was, in accordance with this man's instruction, ordinarily appealed to by the Gros Ventres for success in hunting particularly at times when game was hard to get, and the above-mentioned first fruits sacrifice of liver and fat made to him after game was killed. He was not appealed to on any other occasion.

776 At a number of places in and around Gros Ventres territory are [172] cliffs with incised pictographs on them made by a certain class of "false persons" called tciya:tsine:n "ghost men" or "little men." They were never seen but according to Singer were dwarfish, about 3 feet tall. The Gros Ventres distinguish clearly between such pictographs made by these beings on the one hand and on the other those made by Indians or else tracks of animals in flat rocks. The first are temporary, and change from time to time; the other two kinds are permanent. Gros Ventres have tried to get

● [114]

[*] He did not, however, come into the shaking tent as the ghost helper did. The statement by Cooper, 1940, based on 1939 field notes, was an error corrected 1940 in the field.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

and as long as you live see that they do not sell it or part with it."

So at Curly Head's death the Pipe fell to Iron Man II (Tall Jack), a relative of Curly Head, who since 1937 (1938) has looked after it. In 1948 it was still being kept in Curly Head's house.[1]

The normal term of keepership of the Feathered Pipe was four years. The very first keeper held the office 80 years, according to the origin story given by Garter Snake, and some later ones, according to tradition, up to 20 years, but the usual limit was supposed to be at most two or three terms, that is eight or twelve years.

There was always a Pipe woman or co-keeper, wife of the keeper. She handled the Pipe bundle and in general had about the same ritual and other duties toward it as had the co-keeper of the Flat Pipe toward the Flat Pipe bundle. The Feathered Pipe keeper had to have at least two wives, for during her menses the co-keeper could not handle the bundle and had to sleep and live outside the keeper's lodge and another wife of the keeper had to substitute for her in the handling and care of the bundle.

There was always, too, a Pipe child,—a girl, unless the keeper had no daughters, in which case a son could be selected by him as Pipe child. Thus the oldest son of Sitting High, who had no daughters, became Pipe child. The Pipe child was not necessarily appointed at once by the keeper on assuming the keepership. Garter Snake was not made Pipe child until she was about six years old. Iron Necklace who had been Feathered Pipe keeper some

[1] In the summer of 1951, Iron Man, assisted by The Boy, had a ceremonial opening of the Feathered Pipe bundle. Dr. Louis B. Hagener, Professor of Biology of Northern Montana College, accompanied by his wife, and Dr. Otto Nitz, Professor of Chemistry, now at Stout Institute of Technology, Menominie, Wisconsin, were among the spectators. The pictures in Plates 2 B-C, 3 A-D, were taken by Dr. Nitz at that time. Dr. Hagener has kindly supplied information regarding the 1951 ceremonial. He writes under date of Aug. 8, 1954, as to final disposal of the Feathered Pipe bundle: "Since the young people were so apathetic over the bundle, its significance, and the ceremony, Iron Man and his wife had resolved not to open it again. They were debating as to whether it should be given to a museum or whether the tribe would outfit Iron Man and his wife for a journey and permit them to dispose of it somewhere in the mountains." [R.F.]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

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was given. Two such songs, victory songs, given during war raids, were recorded by us.

[184]

A great many Gros Ventre men and women had power acquired by quest or otherwise from non-ancestral beings, but far fewer had ancestral helpers such as we are describing. Our informants, in fact, whose combined memories carried back to the early 1860's, could recall only five or at most six, seven or eight: Good Singer, Woman (or Bear Old Woman), Morning Star Appears (probably the same as Rising Cross), Bird Child, Bull Head, and perhaps two or three others.[6] Persons with ghost helpers had prestige, not greater however than outstanding doctors had.

[425]

Power acquired from non-ancestral beings could be transferred by the possessor to another person through gift or sale. But a ghost helper was not transferable; such power was owned property; a ghost helper was not. A given person never had more than one ghost helper, so far as we could discover. In the shaking tent rite, only this one ghost helper had part,—no other being, neither the Supreme Being, nor Bha'a, nor Little Spirit,[6] nor any power-giving being.

At the time the ghost helper was accepted by its surviving relative, it promised him (or her) to come when summoned with the summoning song, but, in sharp contrast to the practice of non-ancestral power-bestowing beings, it imparted no power to him whatever, whether in war, medicine, gambling or love, except the "power," if it can be called such, to summon the ghost and except by sheer coincidence as in the case of Bad Bad Bull mentioned above. The ghost helper imparted not power, but knowledge; not any power of clairvoyance, prophecy or wisdom, but knowledge itself; not once and for all at the time of being accepted by the person, as did the power-bestowing beings but from time to time if and when summoned. The sole function of the ghost helper as

[6] Cf. Flannery, 1944, pp. 55-58; Cooper, 1944, pp. 62-77 passim. Rising Cross of Flannery, p. 56, was pretty surely the same person as Morning-Star-Appears or Morning-Star-Is-Up, of Cooper, p. 71; probably the same person as mentioned in Watches-All's narrative by Kroeber, 1908, pp. 216-17.

[6] That Little Spirit could function in the shaking tent rite in place of an ancestral spirit, as stated reservedly by Cooper, 1940, p. 112, is an error, corrected by field data gotten by him later.

[114]

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

SOCIAL MECHANISMS IN GROS VENTRE GAMBLING

REGINA FLANNERY AND JOHN M. COOPER

INTRODUCTION

THE PRESENT PAPER is offered as a modest start toward opening up what looks like a promising field, namely, the social implications of gambling.

Our anthropological sources yield a fairly generous amount of information on the world distribution of gambling,[1] the games and sports gambled on, the valuables wagered, the payment of gambling debts, and the ritual accompaniments of gambling. On the other hand, the same sources yield extremely meager information, and for most gambling peoples none at all, on such social aspects of gambling as: its mode of meshing into the prevalent social organization (who gambles, with whom, and for what); its effectiveness in fulfilling or thwarting the wishes of the individual gambler and in meeting or blocking the needs of integral and fractional social groups; individual differences in participation and the motivations responsible for them; native attitudes toward gambling; the economic and other factors that are favorable or unfavorable to the rise and persistence of gambling in culture as such or in given cultures. Field and library studies of these and most other social aspects of gambling have been almost entirely neglected by anthropologists.[2] And, so far as the present writers have been able to discover from rapid search among the sociological sources and from random inquiries among their sociological friends, such studies have also been almost entirely neglected by the sociologists, even by those specializing in the area of delinquency.

The following pages are an attempt to present the gambling complex, with emphasis on certain of its social aspects, as it existed during the second half of the last century among the Gros Ventre of Montana. Most of the complex is now a thing of the past. New gambling games, particularly playing cards, have superseded the old, and gambling itself, on the reservation and among the Gros Ventre in general, is not the tense and meaningful activity it used to be.

The data on which this paper is based were gathered, incidentally to a gen-

1 World distribution is spotty and far from universal. A summarized world distribution, based on several hundred sources, is given in J. M. Cooper, *Temporal Sequence and the Marginal Cultures* (Anthropological Series, Catholic University of America, no. 10, 1941), pp. 67-68.

2 Father Gerald Desmond's *Gambling among the Yakima*, from his field study of 1944, a manuscript now being prepared for publication, is devoted largely to the social aspects.

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

THE SHAKING TENT RITE AMONG PLAINS AND FOREST ALGONQUIANS

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121 114 THE purpose of the present paper is to bring together and make available some scattered field notes on the conjuring and "shaking tent" complex of northern North America, a subject that has recently evoked a good deal of discussion, particularly in the valuable interpretative monographs of Ray and Hallowell.[1] The data to be presented are from the Algonquian-speaking Montagnais, Cree, Oteipwe, Blood-Blackfoot, and Gros Ventres (of Montana), and the Siouan-speaking Assiniboine. Only certain high-light features of the Montagnais, Cree, and Oteipwe rite will be mentioned; the complete field data gathered by the writer will be given in monographs to be published later. On the Blood-Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, and Assiniboine, my field data will be given here in full. Information obtained on the Blood-Blackfoot and Assiniboine shaking tent rite is very fragmentary. It was gotten under conditions that did not leave time or opportunity for detailed investigation. Leisurely field work on this item among these people would in all probability net a much ampler yield. Information on the Gros Ventre rite is much fuller, but, even so, is probably not exhaustive.

GROS VENTRE RITE

114 787 It was in 1931 during a very brief one-day reconnaissance visit to the Fort Belknap Reservation that the writer first heard of the shaking tent rite among the Gros Ventres, from a group

[1] V. F. Ray, Historic backgrounds of the conjuring complex in the Plateau and the Plains, in L. Spier et al., ed., Language, culture, and personality: Essays in memory of Edward Sapir, Menasha, Wis., 1941, 204–16, bibl. 215–16; A. L. Hallowell, The role of conjuring in Saulteaux society Publ., Philadelphia anthropological society, v. 2, Phila., 1942, incl. bibl. pp. 89–96.

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13 ●

of men, including Stiff Arm, a noted Gros Ventre medicine man, who has since died. Only a few details were obtained: the rite within a regular tepee with spectators present; the tying of the performer with ropes, his escape therefrom, and after his escape the ropes in a ball which could not be untied; the summoning of the spirit of the deceased relative by the performer; the shaking of the tent "as in a cyclone" when the spirit came; talking "from above" by the spirit; singing by the performer and by the others in the tepee. 114 ● 787

Later in August-September, 1939 and 1940, fuller information on the shaking tent rite was secured in connection with a general study of Gros Ventre society and religion, from The Boy and Thick, two of the older and best informed men among the Gros Ventres. These fuller data here follow.

Spiritual helpers among the Gros Ventres were of two kinds, ghosts of deceased persons and beings who had never been men. [776] The latter, the ordinary guardian spirits, by far the more common, do not concern us here as they do not enter at all into the Gros Ventre shaking tent rite. Only ghosts so enter.

A ghost helper, tsatsawâ'ᵃ (–â– and superior a nasalized), was usually acquired in the following way. It was not sought by fasting and crying out on the hills, the customary procedure for acquiring non-ghostly guardian spirits and power. In fact there was either no quest of any kind or at most a somewhat indirect one. The usual sequence was as follows. A surviving relative would keep in his or her possession some memento or keepsake—something the deceased had prized greatly, some belonging such as a whip, or a tooth or bit of hair of the departed one. The keepsake was kept, not worn. It was kept not for the purpose of acquiring the ghost of the deceased relative (a father or other close relative), but solely or at least chiefly, so far as I could gather, out of regard for the departed. 776 787 [765 768]

In most cases where such mementos were kept nothing happened. In some few cases, however, the keeping led to the acquisition of a ghost helper by the keeper. The first intimations the keeper had of the intentions of the deceased relative were knockings, or whistlings, or other kinds of disturbance around

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13
Assiniboine NF4 Montagnais NH6
Blackfoot NF6 Ojibwa NG6
Cree NG4

BCMOCA 787 171

Cree-Otcipwe, the power to summon the shaking tent spirit(s) is not thrust upon the person by any spirit, as in a great measure it is among the Gros Ventres.

In general, the shaking tent rite appears to have much more relative importance and to play a much more preponderant role in the total magico-religious life of the Montagnais-Cree-Otcipwe than of the Gros Ventres, Blackfoot-Blood and Assiniboine.

BCMOCA [177]

That there is a historical relationship between the two above contrasted shaking tent complexes appears very probable from the many specific and distinctive elements they share in common and from the almost continuous geographical distribution of the complexes, a distribution moreover predominantly among the main body of Algonquian-speaking peoples of the taiga and adjacent open country and the aberrant-Algonquian-speaking groups of the Plains, the Gros Ventres, the Blackfoot, and the Cheyenne.

Addendum on Wider Distribution

G 787 171 [114]

It has not been the purpose of the present paper to deal with the total distribution of the shaking tent rite and with the historical problems connected with such distribution. The following summary notes are added merely to contribute a mite toward filling out the picture of distribution as given in Ray's historical study and Hallowell's socio-psychological one.[8]

In the east, the shaking tent is not reported in our published sources, to my knowledge, south of the St. Lawrence. The record by Maurault for the Abnaki does not mention shaking of the conjurer's tent.[9] Inquiries by the writer in the field in 1931 among the Chipewyan and Dogrib of the Mackenzie-Slave watershed brought consistently negative results; in fact informants who knew well and gave many details of the rite as practised among the Cree of Ft. McMurray (Athabaska R.) and Ft. Chipewyan (L. Athabaska), on the Cree-Chipewyan borderline, and who were equally familiar with both Cree and Chipewyan

[8] Ray, 1941; Hallowell, 1942. See footnote 1.

[9] J. A. Maurault, Histoire des Abenakis depuis 1605 jusqu'à nos jours, Québec, 1866, 30.

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

[P.39] PRIMITIVE MAN

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THE CHANGING FORM AND FUNCTIONS OF THE GROS VENTRE GRASS DANCE

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THE purpose of the present paper is to discuss the changing form, and to show as far as possible the changing functions, of the Grass dance in Gros Ventre culture from the time of its introduction between 1875 and 1880 up to about 1920 when it had paled off to relative insignificance.

The Gros Ventre tribe of Montana was one of the many which adopted the Grass dance, sometimes called the Omaha dance, as it spread rapidly over the northern plains in relatively recent times. Wissler studied the distribution and diffusion of the Grass dance as a trait-complex,[1] basing his interpretation upon his own observations, especially among the Blackfeet, and on the descriptions of this dance as published for other tribes. For the Gros Ventres he depended mainly on Kroeber's data,[2] the only source available, but he himself had visited that tribe and collected, among other specimens, regalia used by them in the Grass

[1] Wissler, C., General discussion of shamanistic and dancing societies, AMNH-AP 11, pt. 12 1916, pp. 862–71.

[2] Kroeber, A. L., Ethnology of the Gros Ventre, AMNH-AP 1, pt. 4, 1908, pp. 234, 238–39.

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

796 dance.[3] Wissler was well aware of the importance of the Grass
114 dance in the transition period of Plains culture from the old to the new, and suggested further studies be made. Nevertheless, no one has given us a close-up, so far as I know, of its dynamic aspects in the life of any one of the tribes who shared the phenomenon.

796 In 1901 Kroeber noted that the Grass dance as then performed
114 by the Gros Ventres differed considerably in form from that
177 which was described to him as having been the case when it was first adopted. He gives us a brief description of the earlier procedure, but naturally enough no details regarding the then current method of carrying out the Grass dance, since his concern was with the older tribal culture. He merely states: "It is no longer a young man's dance, nor confined to a certain group. All the people in the tribe take part in it. It is very similar in character to the present-day Arapaho crow-dance, as well as in the place it occupies in the life of the people. Among the Gros Ventre it is now the only dance held."[4] Our data, gathered during two visits to the Fort Belknap Reservation in 1940 and 1945, confirm Kroeber's and supplement them to a considerable extent.

121 In treating of the Grass dance then, we shall distinguish be-
128 tween an earlier period extending from between 1875 to 1880 up to about 1890, and a later period comprising the years from roughly 1890 to 1916. We shall first describe the form of the Grass dance as it was in the earlier period, then the changes which were later introduced, and finally we shall discuss the varying functions during both periods.

The Form: Earlier Period

796 According to Wissler the dance originated with the Dakota
177 about 1860 and is traceable as a development of the older Pawnee
171

[3] These specimens are in the American Museum of Natural History. Some of those used in the Gros Ventre Grass dance have been described by Kroeber, loc. cit.: fork, pp. 270–71; spoon, p. 271; whip, p. 271; crow-belt, pp. 271–72.

[4] Kroeber, loc. cit., p. 238.

796 Bear Paw Mountains. It was there that the Gros Ventres had their first Grass dance alone. I don't know why they did things like this, but all those who had been given regalia walked instead of riding horseback. But the drum was packed on a special horse by itself and when they came to a stream, four men who owned the drumsticks carried the drum across, wading in without taking off their moccasins or other clothing. Furthermore those who owned the regalia were not supposed to help feed the crowd. They were not allowed to serve food and if they did, they had to give something away. Nor were these men supposed to borrow. They were supposed to have their own cup or dish and when it [415] was time to eat, if they didn't have any receptacle, they spread out their robes and the servers poured the coffee or soup or whatever was being served right in the robes."

114 174 796 The above account is the only explicit record of the actual transfer which was obtainable in the field. From details supplied by this same informant, however, as well as by others not so old as she, but who have accurate traditional knowledge of Gros Ventre culture, we have considerable information on the Grass dance as practiced from the time it was adopted.[7] Let us proceed then to the general description, first as the dance was carried out in the earlier period.

575 796 *Personnel and equipment.* At the time of adoption the Grass dance came into the possession of a society, the Wolves or Wolfmen. Only members of the society actually danced, wearing the distinctive headdress of deer hair, although the rest of their costume varied with the individual. The special regalia which went with the dance were: 2 crow-belts; a large drum and 4 fancy drumsticks; a spear or fork; a spoon; 2 wands representing swords; a whistle.[8] Each item was owned by an individual member of the society who was, by virtue of this ownership, an officer

[115]

[7] I wish to thank all of my Gros Ventre friends for their assistance, especially The Boy, Thick, Thomas Main, Charles Buckman, Al and Cora Chandler, Mary Ereaux, Mathilda Cuts-the-Rope, but above all, my old "grandmothers," Coming Daylight and Singer.

[8] For reference to description of some of these, see footnote 3.